

THE DC GAZETTE

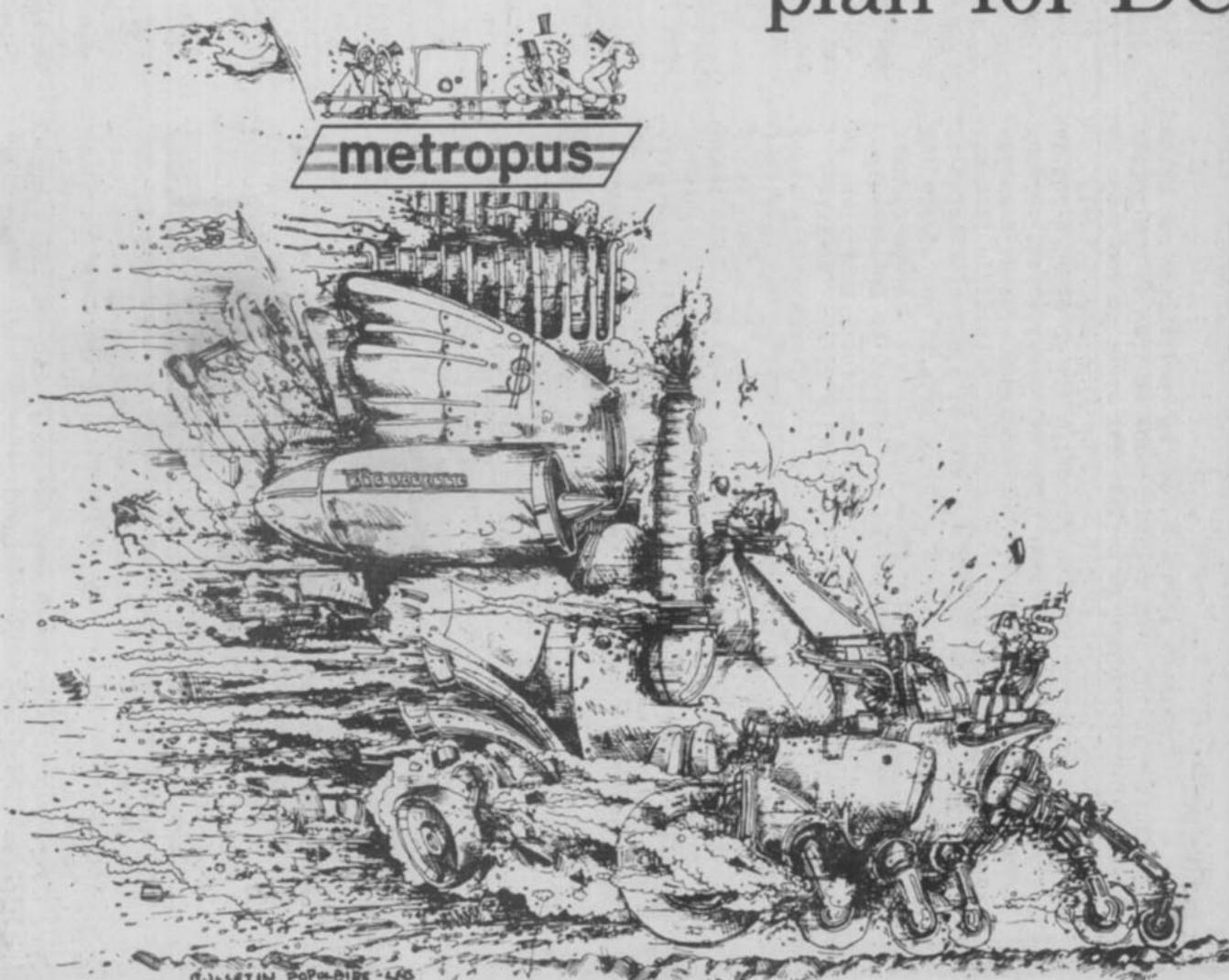
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FEBRUARY 1975

A MONTHLY REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE CITY

Cutting the tentacles of the Metropolis

A mass transit
plan for DC



DC GAZETTE

VOL VI NR. 2 FEBRUARY 1975

DC EYE

POST WATERGATE MORALITY

On the same day that word came out of a jury's \$12 million award to the victims of the May-Day police riot led by Jerry Wilson, the Post ran another column by Wilson (who incidentally was held personally liable for some of the damages) on its op-ed page. We trust that the Post will continue this tradition by offering Charles Colson a column on religion, Robert Vesco one on the business pages and James McCord an opportunity to write about the latest stereo tape releases.

DC now has the third highest per-capita debt among the nation's leading 31 cities. That's \$1,051 a head.

A REPORT ON DC's capital expenditures finds that DC debt has mounted from \$101 million in 1965 to \$1.07 billion today. The guess is that it will be up to \$1.7 billion by 1980. As recently retired congressman H.R. Gross once said, "There's always free cheese in a mousetrap."

THE WASHINGTON AREA FOOD FEDERATION, an organization of worker controlled anti-profit food businesses in the area, has called on the city government to make funds available to communities that have been deserted by the food chains to be used to start more anti-profit food stores. More information can be obtained from Stone Soup, 234-7665, or Fields of Plenty, 483-3884.

THE SUPREME COURT has decided not to hear an appeal to a local court decision upholding a requirement that parties have at least 250 signatures of registered members on a petition before running ward candidates. The decision affects the Statehood Party which, although the number two party in the city, has very low registration because it runs no national candidates.

WHEN WE COMPLAINED about Sterling Tucker's campaign finance practices and their similarities to the indulgences to which Martin Luther took offense, we never guessed that it was just the beginning. During the inaugural festivities it cost \$6.50 to go to the prayer breakfast and pray for Sterling, Wally et al. The propriety of it aside, there's no evidence so far that it's done any good.

THE HOME RULE BILL gives the council the power to delegate real, non-advisory powers to the neighborhood councils. Let's stop thinking of them as "advisory" and call them NC's not ANC's.

Cutting the tentacles of the Metropolis

MY SUBWAY right or wrong. It is hard to think of another local issue about which government officials, community leaders and the press have so steadfastly refused to view with other than child-like faith for so long in the face of so much undermining evidence. Long after it became clear that Metro had lied to us, they continued to believe they saw the light at the end of the tunnel. But like Vietnam, there was no light — except in the direction from which we had come.

How much will the Metro deficit be next year? Press reports speak of a Metrobus deficit of \$52 million. But that does not include \$11 million for Metro's management, nor the \$5.6 million Metrorail is expected to lose in its first months of operations. In addition, capital costs for the Metrobus system will be over \$25 million and for the Metrorail system it will be \$382 million.

Now inflation has stepped in where intelligence feared to tread; the deceits, misinformation and incompetence of Metro have finally piled up high enough for even the Post and the Star-News to see; and local officials have at last begun to question instead of sitting moronically on the Metro board like trained chimpanzees receiving pretty hardhats from Jackson Graham for voting approval of his cost overruns.

Unfortunately, the time has passed to save \$3 billion, or to take more than historical note of the fact that for the \$218 million DC has already spent as its share of Metrorail funding, the city could have had in operation now 60 to 70 miles of streetcar routes or have bought 10,000 jitneys at \$20,000 apiece — all without the need for federal assistance.

No, it's too late not to make a three billion dollar mistake, although if we move quickly we might be able to trim a few hundred million off our error. The main question now is whether we will make a \$5 or \$6 billion one. That's the balance due if the system is to be completed.

To answer the question we must retrace our steps and ask one that we have shunned all these years: do we need a subway? We have argued for a number of years (See "Will Metro Make It?" in the Feb. 18, 1971 Gazette and subsequent grumblings) that the answer is pretty clear that we don't, although admittedly a case could be made for a short-line under downtown assuming you had a lot of cash lying around doing nothing. Some of the reasons follow:

EXPENSE

Subways are the most expensive form of local mass transit. For example, it costs over fifteen times as much per mile to build a subway as it does to construct streetcar lines. Or another example: the amount of capital needed to complete some 50 miles of Metro is roughly equivalent to the amount of external aid an advisory group has estimated it would take to rehabilitate the Penn Central Railroad. Further, Robert Keith of Alan Voorhees & Associates, who was one of the original subway planners, says now that Metro's "rail costs would be the highest [for a transit system] in the US on a cost-per-car-mile basis."

INFLEXIBILITY

Bus and jitney routes can be easily shifted to meet changing needs. Streetcar lines are less flexible, but the economics of dropping or altering them is far better than that of abandoning a subway route or leaving an inefficient one. Mass transit demands can change dramatically (as they did with the opening up of the suburbs in the fifties and sixties) but a subway stays right where it is.

(Please turn to next page)

District of Columbia

"We've got to end the anti-development syndrome . . ."

—Sterling Tucker

"We've got to eliminate the anti-development syndrome."

Words from a Washington realtor's textbook? No, they're the views of Sterling Tucker, chairman of the District of Columbia's first elected City Council in over a century.

Tucker, whose powers as council chairman in the city's new Home Rule government will in some ways equal those of the elected Mayor Walter E. Washington, feels that strong business development with "new kinds of incentives . . . and some concessions" are going to rate top priorities for the city as the fledgling government gets underway.

The new council chairman is pinning some of his hopes for an economic rebirth in the District on the appointment of a Council of Economic Advisors to the Mayor.

"We've got to work on that", said Tucker, referring to one of the key recommendations contained in a 101-page report to the City Council by a special council advisory committee on



TECHNOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

There are several. First, mass transit technology is developing faster today than it has in many decades. Now is not the right time to be putting the better part of the city's mass transit capital into a system that is basically the same as it was in the 19th century, and which is more expensive than most of the new technologies under consideration. Secondly, in moving people in and out of a city, speed is less important than bulk. It is for a similar reason that barge traffic in this country has boomed despite the airplane and the train. In designing an urban transit system, bulk capacity is important. As an analogy, consider the department store elevator vs. the escalator. The escalator can move a steady stream of people albeit slowly, giving it the competitive edge over the elevator which lacks the capacity and for which one must wait in order to have a brief, high-speed ride.

Subways have been pictured as high capacity vehicles. For example, Cleatus Barnett, former chairman of the Metro board, offered some magnificently hyperbolic figures to prove the necessity for completing the system. He claimed that if the system were not finished, we would need 50 more miles of six-lane freeways, 980 more buses and could expect 150,000 more daily auto trips. Given the fact that we are now moving people about the metropolitan area without a subway, without 50 more miles of freeways and without 980 more buses, Barnett obviously expects us to spend the next few years reproducing ourselves at an extraordinary rate. In fact, not only has DC's population declined, but Arlington's dropped 3.9% in 1973 and Prince Georges County grew only 0.2%.

Further, there is no evidence that the subway would operate at capacity. Our own extrapolation of Metro's estimates suggest that even the optimists see the subway running at about one-third capacity, or roughly twice the potential capacity of one lane of a downtown street devoted solely to bike traffic. Not very impressive.

In fact, usage may be even less than Metro thinks. For example, Cleveland in 1968 built a rapid rail line to its airport. It had a capacity of 30,000 passengers an hour in one direction. In 1968, however, it was carrying only 3600 passengers a day and in 1971, 2400 passengers a day. Other big city rail lines have experienced a drop in ridership in recent years, apparently in part because the fear of crime in subways. Crime not only keeps riders off the subways but greatly increases operating costs because of the added police protection needed.

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Until the tax base can be broadened economically, however, the council chairman believes a tax increase of some kind is "inevitable" this year. He doesn't think it will have to be large, but somewhere the city will have to increase its revenues.

District landlords who have chafed under the city's Rent Control Law, whose guiding hand was Tucker's, will be pleased to know that the council chairman doesn't think much of it either. Certainly not on a permanent basis.

"It's unfair to ask a segment of our community to bear the full brunt" said Tucker, calling rent control a "temporary measure". "It's a false, superficial bandaid", he added.

In the meantime, however, the council chairman wants to beef up citizen participation in the District's Tenant

When asked yesterday where the extra money for the cost overruns and the repayment of the revenue bonds will come from, Metro board chairman Cleatus Barnett said, "We don't have the answer to that question this morning." — STAR-NEWS

ENERGY QUESTIONS

The subway is already being used as an excuse for overbuilding area power stations. The argument that a subway is energy-efficient is based on an assumption of full use. A study done of British energy uses, for example, found that the actual load of trains compared to the actual load of cars made them roughly equivalent in energy consumption per passenger mile despite the theoretical advantage — based on total capacity — of the trains. Meanwhile, the actual energy consumption of buses per passenger mile was about half that of cars. As Robert Keith pointed out in his report to Metro: "New rail operating expense estimates, without inflation, would be nearly double the prior estimates. One half the added rail operating needs are due to new energy consumption estimates — train power, station air conditioning and other needs. The amount of power is enormous."

WHO GETS SERVED

A study of the Cleveland rail line to the airport found that 60% of the riders had family incomes of over \$15,000. In the case of DC, one need only look at where the subway routes run to assess their value to different economic classes i.e. the Great White Way up Connecticut Avenue and the airport route. Significantly, lines that would serve the lower end of the economic spectrum were left until last and will be scrapped if the system is reduced. Was this merely blatant discrimination against the poor? Probably not so much as a calculation as to where the system would be least deficit-laden, where people could afford luxury fares for luxury service.

But it was not just because these people have more money. A subway works most efficiently bringing people to a point from

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Mr. Lee is a second generation Washingtonian and has owned and managed Chinese night clubs, restaurants and carryout shops all his life. He enjoys cooking and eating Chinese foods, combined with his daily walks. He has found his fountain of youth in the Chinese wok.

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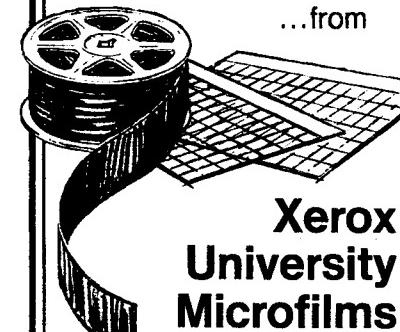
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In short, Metro has become like a sick elephant. Everyone knows something is wrong but they are afraid to get close enough to find out what. — THOMAS CROSBY in the Star-News.

which they can walk to work. The greatest concentration of jobs is within downtown Washington. For the riders going from the inner city to the suburbs, on the other hand, a second means of transportation will be necessary to reach their jobs in the less dense areas around suburban stops.

SOCIAL EFFECTS

Besides serving as a luxury system for the downtown white collar worker at the expense of mass transit for others, the subway has other bad social effects. Since it requires high density, it inevitably becomes a tail wagging the dog. Once committed to building a subway in a less than dense area like Washington, people must be crowded around subway stops in a frantic effort to make the subway system pay for itself. The current mania for overdeveloping subway stops would have been unnecessary had there been justification for the subway in the first place. Instead, the neighborhoods Metro was supposed to serve are being destroyed in order to serve Metro.

COMPETITION WITH OTHER MASS TRANSIT

Rather than competing with the auto, the subway is virtually unique among mass transit systems in that it offers no physical opposition to the car. Buses, jitneys and streetcars all deprive the auto of street space and thereby help to encourage transit ridership. What the subway does compete with, and effectively, is other forms of mass transit. The subway is designed to serve the same routes as the most profitable bus lines. It drains off bus patronage thereby creating additional bus deficits on top of its own losses.

CONCENTRATION OF EMPLOYMENT DOWNTOWN

Subways encourage the concentration of employment downtown. The classic case is Manhattan. There is little evidence that such concentration aids either the city or the area and in fact aggravates a number of problems including transportation and pollution. Downtown concentration is actually the most inefficient use of city space since it creates an inordinate transportation demand in a tiny fraction of the total region. Further, since the vast majority of employees working in new downtown jobs created in the wake of the subway will still come and go by car (Metro expects the subway to handle only about 20% of the rushhour demand in the area) the subway will actually increase downtown auto congestion.

[For more on these last two points and the Cleveland airport rail line, as well as an excellent critique of mass transit, see "Squelching the Myths of Mass Transit" in the November 24, 1974 Star-News, page F-3, by Yale Brozen and Laura Genero.]

Thus the subway, far from being a boon to the area, is on balance a detriment and will contribute to the deterioration of the economic and social condition and habitability of the region.

But we've got 34 miles of the thing under construction and another 64 still on the drawing boards. What do we do?

Stop.

Even go back a few miles. Write them off. It's cheaper and wiser than finishing them up. Don't even try to get half of it completed. We've made a bad mistake and each additional mile (unless it brings an incomplete line to a station) is a wasted \$50 million or so in capital expenditures. And if the subway deficits run at the same rate as those of the bus system, each mile of track could easily add a quarter to a half a million dollars in deficits each year.

It has been argued that cutting the system would place an undue financial burden on the city since most the trackage and therefore most of the capital costs and deficits would be transferred to DC. We have studied the figures and believe that they indicate strongly that this isn't so.

A fair apportionment of current costs, based on mileage in each jurisdiction, would cost the city about 39% of the total local share (it is currently being charged 37%). With a 46-mile system such as has been under discussion in recent days, the share would rise to only 52% and in the case of a 34-mile system (using only mileage currently under construction) the share would rise to 64%.

The effect of the city taking over a higher percentage of the system's costs would not, however, mean higher capital costs when compared with what the city might have to put up for a \$5 or \$6 billion total system. Here are some estimates of DC's share of construction costs under the different alternatives.

SYSTEM COST	MILEAGE	DC'S % OF LOCAL SHARE	DC'S COST
\$6 billion	98	37%	\$540 million
\$5 billion	98	37%	\$450 million
\$3 billion	46	52%	\$376 million
\$2.1 billion	34	64%	\$338 million

The last figure is theoretical, since Metro has already obligated more than \$2.1 billion on the assumption of a much larger system, but we have included it to demonstrate how reducing the system affects DC's share. Even building a 46-mile system, however, the city might save itself \$74-\$164 million in capital costs over what it would pay for a full system.

In addition some \$1.2 billion in bonds are scheduled to be sold to help build the subway. The DC share of interest and principal gives it a liability of roughly \$33 million a year. But if no more than the \$820 million worth of bonds that have already been floated are put on the market, the liability of the city for a 46-mile system (based on 52% of the total) would be only \$32 million a year. These figures would, of course, be reduced by any amount the system could pay out of revenues.

In fact, however, the city and other local jurisdictions could make a good case that with a shortened system, the bond costs should be substantially subsidized by the federal government. These are bonds that Metro and the federal government knew, or should have known if they didn't, would never be repaid out of revenues. Although the local jurisdictions must share the blame for this stupidity, a much larger burden falls on the federal government for luring local jurisdictions into an untenable financial situation. As was the case in the 19th century when the national government encouraged the city to build the C&O Canal, the feds have once again entrapped localities into taking on more than they can handle. The Congress finally helped pay off the C&O Canal debt and there is no reason it should not also help pay off the existing Metro debt as well.

There is also the question of the annual deficit of the system. Let us assume, arbitrarily but not necessarily inaccurately, that the subway losses run about \$50 million a year for a 98-mile system. Let us assume further that the de-

The trolley car has begun to make a comeback in American cities. Urban planners . . . searching for ways to decongest streets and improve public transportation, this year have rediscovered the trolley. . . [The interest is spurred by] efforts by cities to provide a quality of mass transportation superior to the bus but cheaper than subway and high-speed rapid transit lines; and uneasiness about modern transit innovations because of the well-publicized problems in San Francisco's two year old BART system, and other transit innovations.

— NEW YORK TIMES, August 25, 1974

Portland, Oregon recently took options on a fleet of 15 trolley cars and wants to restore street cars on 13 miles of former routes.

The first streetcar built in this country since 1952 rolled out of the shop this summer.

Dayton, Ohio, wants to build a 12 mile trolley system. Planners in other cities from Austin to Rochester are giving streetcars serious thought.

In 1955, six years before the abandonment of streetcars here, trolley operations were turning a profit of \$1.5 million while bus routes were losing \$1 million. Meanwhile, Engineer Commissioner Thomas Lane declared that a public hearing on citizen desires to continue streetcar service would be "idle discussion" and would not be held. O. Roy Chalk continued the fight to save the trolleys to their end in 1961 and it is worth recalling amidst our bad memories of him that on this important point he was right.

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DC GAZETTE

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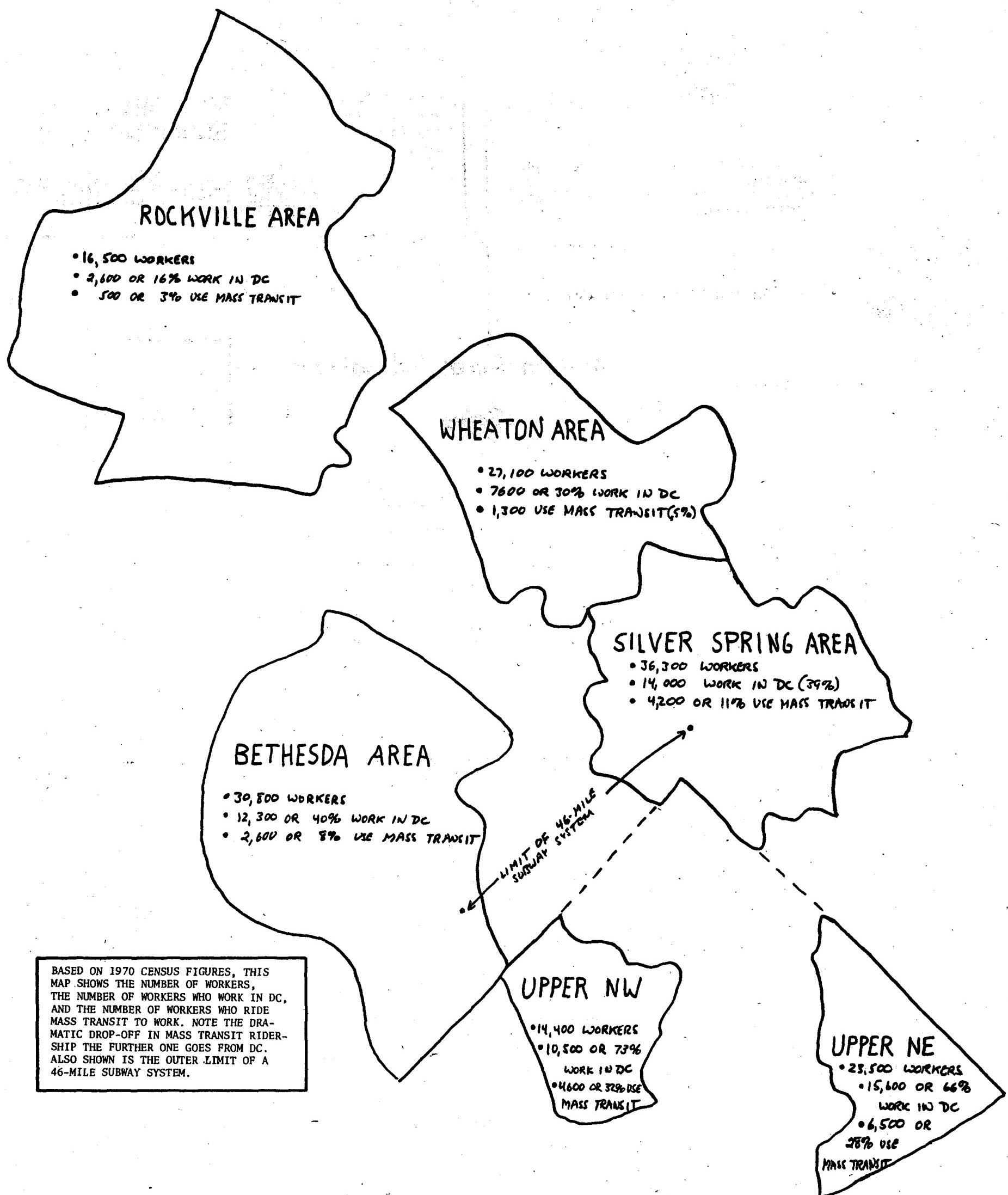
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ficit would decline proportionately with the cutting back of the system (actually a shorter system would probably lose far less since the least profitable lines are those still to be completed). Here is what would happen to the District's share of the deficit using a similar allocation as in the case of capital costs:

- 98 mile system: \$18 million a year.
- 46 mile system: \$13 million a year.
- 34 mile system: \$11 million a year.

Although some might argue that completion of the system is necessary to attract any substantial number of riders to the system, Metro's own figures belie this. A 1971 study done for Metro estimated that only 19 to 23% of the transit trips in each of the three major jurisdictions would be made by rail only. The rest would be made by bus only (39% in the District and 7-8% in Virginia and Maryland) or by a combination of bus and rail service (42% in the District, 69% in Virginia and 76% in Maryland). Thus even with a full rail system in operation

the bulk of passengers would have to make at least one transfer in order to get where they are going. Shortening the rail routes would primarily alter the length of time spent in a bus compared with that spent in the subway. It would not necessarily substantially change the need for transfers.

Further, potential ridership drops off so dramatically the further one goes from the city (see map above) that a loss in patronage in the outer suburbs would be more than offset by the savings of a shorter line. In areas used for our map, we found that the number of workers currently using mass transit in just part of Upper NW and Upper NE was 30% higher than for the Rockville, Bethesda, Wheaton and Silver Spring areas combined.

Finally, cutting the subway short might also help the suburbs as well. For example, 38% of Montgomery County's AM traffic is within the county, best served by improved bus routes, and another 18% is to Prince Georges and Fairfax counties, and could be better served by Beltway bus service than by subway.

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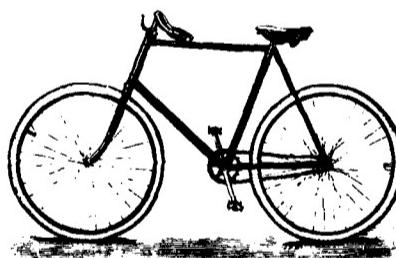
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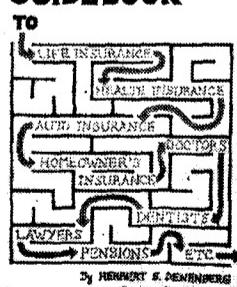
Routes/trails--with maps & descriptions
for cycling in the mid-atlantic
states

Info/resources--on bike buying, safety,
maintenance, clubs, touring, com-
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Your thing/what's next--make your
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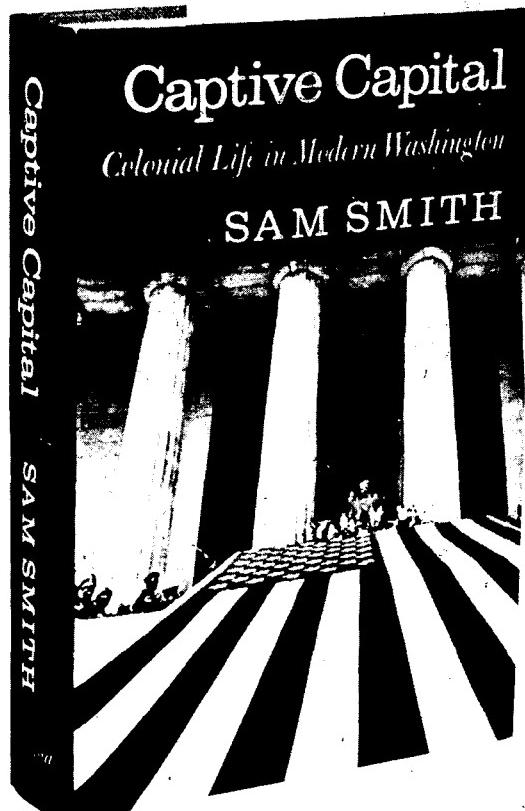
ZIP

THE GAZETTE BOOKSHELF

USE ORDER BLANK ON PAGE SEVEN

WE HAVE PUBLISHED our fourth annual Gazette Guide to the city and this one is better than ever. Now on top of the traditional listing of local organizations and media, we've added a general information section including basic census data; information on race, housing and taxes; a bibliography of books about DC; results of past elections; and maps of ward boundaries, taxi zones, zip code areas, service areas and the racial and political composition of the city. No wonder a local utility ordered 18 copies the day after this edition came out. A local law school bought 250 copies. A college professor got 70 for his students. \$2 each.

**A GUIDE
FOR CITY
ACTIVISTS**



Captive Capital

*Colonial Life
in Modern Washington*

Here's what people have been saying about Gazette editor Sam Smith's book about local Washington:

"Could be an excellent gift for any friend just moving to town. Or any friend who has managed to live here for sometime without learning anything about Washington. . . . Sam Smith's is one of the few efforts I have seen that manages to deal with black people and white people without insulting either." — WILLIAM RASPBERRY, WASHINGTON POST

"It is absolutely 'must' reading for all who are interested in this city's history, its political or private life — JAMES TINNEY, WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN

Smith's book is a joy to read — ROBERT CASSIDY, CHICAGO TRIBUNE

Order a copy today. Published by Indiana University Press. \$8.50.

A NATIONAL GUIDE, TOO.

THE GAZETTE, which has been publishing its widely-praised guide to DC organizations for a number of years, has now published a guide to national action organizations and alternative media.

YOU CAN OBTAIN a copy to this important new publication, the National Action Guide, for only one buck.



WHAT IF? a delightful, educational, ecology-minded coloring book by local artist and printmaker Di Stovall. Perfect for your child. \$1.50


**THE
ALTERNATE
CHRISTMAS
CATALOGUE**
2nd edition

CHRISTMAS HAS COME AND GONE but the Alternate Christmas Catalogue is an encyclopedia of ideas for birthdays, weddings, funerals and other people events if you wish to observe them in a more life-supporting way. A call to simplified living, the Alternate Christmas Catalogue has articles on the philosophy of giving; reverence for life; the Indian view; creative deprivation; family myth-making; children's books and toys and more. Hundreds of suggestions for celebrating important occasions; ideas for making gifts at home; 56 pages of people-and-earth oriented organizations to support with money formerly spent on consumer paraphernalia; and over 60 third world shops and groups from which you can buy gifts. \$2.50

NEWS NOTES is a national newsletter for activists, with information on organizations, resources and short news items you might have otherwise missed. Year's trial: \$3.

ACTIVIST'S FRIEND

NUTRITION SCOREBOARD

NUTRITION SCOREBOARD: YOUR GUIDE TO BETTER EATING, Dr. Michael Jacobson (102pp, \$2.50, perfectbound) "NUTRITION SCOREBOARD is a clear, practical and resourceful guide to anyone who values and seeks wholesome food but hasn't the time to make an obsession of it...Jacobson is a tough and persevering observer of our food culture and to his credit he is respected not only by consumer groups but also by the food industry itself..."—Coleman McCarthy, THE WASHINGTON POST

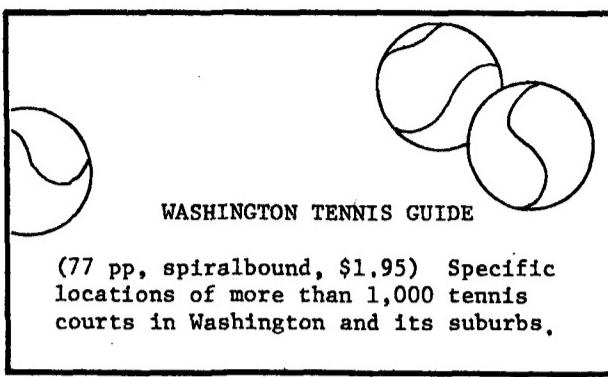
THE GAZETTE BOOKSHELF

SEE PAGE SEVEN FOR ORDER BLANK

Center for a Woman's Own Name

BOOKLET FOR WOMEN WHO WISH TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN NAMES AFTER MARRIAGE

Fact sheet, common law procedures, historical background, legal authorities, legislation, contracts etc. \$2.00 paper.



BETWEEN PARENT AND CHILD

Dr. Haim Ginott's famous book on how to get thru to your child. \$1.50

STRATEGY AND TACTICS FOR GETTING A GOVERNMENT JOB

A basic how-to-do it book for only \$2.75

With the city assuming over half the capital costs and operating deficits of the system (which is already the case with the bus system even though the suburbs outvote the city on the Metro board), DC would have a clear claim for operational control of the area's mass transit facilities. Such control is desirable, especially when one considers what has happened in Philadelphia. A recent article in the Philadelphia Bulletin notes:

"The suburban counties have weakened their majority position on SEPTA [the region's mass transit agency] by being either unwilling or unable to provide adequate local matching funds for the authority's use. Between them, Pennsylvania and Philadelphia account for around 80% of SEPTA's operating subsidies, the four suburban counties four percent and the federal government the rest."

Similar handwriting may be on the wall for this area. It would be better for the city to move in now before the subway's costs have risen another two-thirds or have redoubled, primarily as a result of inefficient suburban construction. If the suburbs become disenchanted with the transit system they can bail out as they have in the Philadelphia area. The city simply needs mass transit more than the suburbs.

Gen. Graham, [\$4.5 billion] will not complete the 98-mile rapid rail transit system, and again I would like to urge that you and members of the authority take another look at the cost of this system. . . Simply tell the people who will have to pay the taxes to carry this burden that the system will ultimately cost about \$5 billion and unless there is some change the figure could go as high as \$6 billion. — REP. WILLIAM NATCHER in a letter last fall to Jackson Graham, general manager of Metro.

Emphasizing bicycles as a form of mass transit is neither romantic nor impractical. About 40% of all trips made in Rotterdam are by bike. The same is true of Davis, California. The Digger, an alternative paper in Australia, reports that only about 15% of Melbourne's population is within 7 1/2 minutes walking time of a mass transit stop but that 85% is within 7 1/2 biking time.

A city-centered and city-controlled mass transit system is essential. According to the 1971 Metro consultant's report, 75% of the 1990 AM rush hour trips and 92% of the off-peak trips of the system will begin or end in DC. It is our system.

Assuming we can stop the growth of the Metropus's tentacles, the city can begin to recoup some of the losses created by the system by making it work for us. The first priority is to discourage the entry of cars into the city, thus forcing more riders onto the mass transit system. This can be done in a number of ways:

- Reduce the traffic lanes on major arteries by converting them into physically separated exclusive bus and jitney lanes. A sign does not a bus lane make, contrary to the impression of the Highway Dept.
- Give buses the right of way over cars.
- Reduce the number of streets within a mile and a half of subway stops that will permit other than local traffic. Convert streets by using barriers that discourage other than bikes, small electric vehicles (like golf carts) and residential auto traffic.
- Apply the DC gasoline tax to mass transit subsidies.
- Turn major bridges and commuter arteries into toll roads and use the tolls for mass transit subsidy.
- Tax parking and apply the tax to mass transit.

In these and other ways suggested in the Gazette plan for DC transportation in this issue, make it the clear policy of the city that the car is a public nuisance that will be endured only as long as it does not impede the flow of other means of movement and contributes financially to their support.

THE GAZETTE TRANSIT PLAN FOR DC

THE MASS TRANSIT AGENCY

1. The system largely involves movement to, from and around the city. The city should have operational control of the system, providing suburban service on either a contract basis or cost-allocation formula.
2. The system should be run by a city board directly elected in off-years on a nonpartisan basis.
3. The current management of Metro should be fired.
4. All routes should be regularly analysed for ridership and revenue and a public report should be made annually of the profit or deficit of each route and of each segment of each route.

THE SUBWAY

1. Halt construction of all lines at the next practical point. This would produce something less than a 34-mile system in the most dense and potentially least deficit-producing section of the area.
2. Use the ends of the subway lines as the terminals for bus routes serving the suburbs. This would eliminate the need for scores of suburban bus routes clogging downtown streets.
3. Demand that in return for saving the federal government as much as \$2 billion in added costs to finish the sys-

tem that the federal government help finance the bonds that were improperly floated without adequate potential of repayment - in no small part at the encouragement of the federal government.

4. Establish group fares for off-peak use of the subway and bus system to encourage use by tours, school classes etc.

SURFACE RAIL

- Provide surface rail improvements on an incremental basis beginning with existing rail routes such as those between Gaithersburg and Union Station and Baltimore and Union Station, then expanding to other routes such as along the Washington & Old Dominion roadbed to Dulles. The Coalition for Clean Air has proposed a 376-mile system of surface rail that could be put into effect.

- Greatly increase the number of stations along existing and new surface rail commuter lines.

- As funds become available, begin construction of streetcar lines in the city, serving areas not reached by the subway.

THE BUS SYSTEM

- Create physically separated bus lanes along major arteries for use by buses and jitneys.

- Give buses the right of way over autos in passing, turning and pulling out from the curb lane.

- Give buses driver control over traffic signals in appropriate cases.

- Replace underutilized bus routes with subsidized jitney or taxi service. There are probably quite a few bus routes where the per-passenger costs exceed that of a taxi ride.

- Obtain the cooperation of the government and private employers so that employees may work a shortened or off-scheduled work day in order to serve as part-time rush hour bus or jitney drivers. An example: a worker drives a jitney from a Silver Spring garage to the Federal Triangle, back to Silver Spring and then back to the Federal Triangle during the AM rush. The employee's agency permits the worker to come in at 10 a.m. Another worker leaves early and takes the jitney on one and a half round trips in the evening, leaving the jitney at the Silver Spring garage. The worker has gained some extra income, and the transit system pays only for the driver's productive time.

- Provide beltway bus service in the suburbs and one or two bus loops in the city to improve cross-county and cross-city service and access to in-out lines like the subway.

- Simplify the bus system. There are a number of ways of doing this. One is to eliminate suburban buses along subway routes (parallel local buses, however, should be retained). Another is to increase through-downtown service. The 30 buses are an example. They go from Friendship through downtown to Far SE. The more typical example, however are the A and L routes coming from Far SE and Far NW respectively. They could be combined. Eliminating excess zigs and zags would also help as would routing buses through one or two major terminals such as Union Station or Dupont Circle with shuttle service between the terminals. This way one could catch a bus to almost anywhere in the city from one or two places.

- Rationalize frequency. Have buses run on steady headways instead of the erratic ones now in use. Post the frequen-

cy of buses on bus stops along with maps showing where the buses go. System maps should also be in all buses.

- Use different types of buses for different types of service. Articulated buses carrying as many as two hundred passengers would make sense in some cases, double-deckers in others, special narrow vehicles to wind through neighborhoods in others.

- Provide tourist-oriented service like other city's "culture loop" buses.

- Provide reduced fares, monthly passes, two-for-one fares and other attractions to lessen the difference between peak and off-peak ridership and to encourage more transit ridership. Until the bus system is put in order, increasing rush hour ridership alone will merely lead to greatly increased deficits. For example, the number of buses needed for off-peak loads is about one-third that required for rush hour service.

- Stagger work hours to spread the rushhour load.

- Greatly improve information about the bus system.

- Greatly increase the number of bus shelters and benches at bus stops. The low priority given such amenities by Metro reflects decision made by those who obviously don't ride buses.

- Permit advertising on the outside of buses and on bus shelters. Permit the installation of vending machines in bus shelters.

- Use multi-purpose buses. At the very least racks should be installed on buses to give shoppers some place to put their bags. Seats should be designed for below-seat stowage. Buses could be convertible to handle packages and mail during off-peak hours as was done on streetcars here until the early part of this century. Neighborhood package depots could be established at appropriate bus and subway stops.

THE STREET SYSTEM

- Reduce the number of car lanes on major arteries to force commuters onto buses and subways.

- Establish toll booths at major entry points into the city.

- Tax parking and apply proceeds, along with some of the \$48 million in auto fees and taxes to mass transit.

- Reduce the number of streets available to through traffic within one and a half miles of subway stops. Convert to primary use for bicycles and small electric vehicles.

JITNIES

- Permit taxicabs to be as large as minibuses.

- Permit cabs and jitneys to operate over fixed routes at a reduced fare.

- Subsidize the cost of acquiring jitneys and the creation of neighborhood jitney service.

BICYCLES

- Greatly increase the number of bikeways (not merely bike lanes) in the city.

- Create streets that give preferential treatment to bikes and other small vehicles, especially near subway and major bus stops.

- Improve bike parking facilities in the city. Require new construction to provide adequate bike parking.

- Spend money to improve bike technology to develop use of bike trailers, pedicars etc.



paign literature which was written by me and which was given out on the streets since the first of September. It was printed by the Thundergoat Press. I have marked in green pencil thereon, as follows:

"SPECULATORS should pay capital gains tax on housing sales, higher for short term ownership."

I submit that these words say exactly as those you have recently accredited to Mr. Paris, for the addition of "with a declining tax rate for homes owned a longer time" would be superfluous. I further submit that these words of mine - printed with several thousand copies distributed - were also heard by you, the Editor of the DC Gazette, when I read the entire wording of this piece of literature at the Wesley Heights Citizens Association meeting, held at the Metropolitan Memorial United Methodist Church on Wednesday, 18 September last.

In view of the fact that Statehood people feel that there should be no such thing as housing speculation (hence

ON PAGE 4 of the January 1975 Gazette I was amazed to see the following printed at the beginning of the first column: "Dave Paris, head of the Ecology Center, has come up with an idea for discouraging housing speculation. He proposes a high rate of capital gains tax on houses sold after being held only a short period of time, with a declining tax rate for homes owned a longer time." There is attached a copy of my cam-

FREE DEECEE

I hope you'll promote the name "DeeCee" or "Deceee" for our state. It's the name we're used to, and it's unique. "Columbia" is overused already. My average sized atlas lists 16 towns, 8 counties, 7 other geographic things, plus 15 towns with Columbia-combination names (e.g. Columbia Park etc.). Then there are Columbia colleges and the University - on and on. C. F. RIPPEY

your wording about discouraging it), it is evident that the idea originated with me. I am realistic enough to know that there will be speculation and, in fact, that if the support of this city is not to come more and more from such as my real estate and income taxes - both federal and local - then there has to be private investment. I, however, work

toward change and equity but I face reality: the money to do what has to be done must come from somewhere and I feel that private enterprise, properly taxed and controlled with anti-trust laws combined with ecological engineering, progressive taxation of gross profits, personal income and wealth and enforcement of ethics are what we need for adequate social reform, and I feel this to be the realistic goal right now. It is my strong feeling that you should try to adjust for the fact, in the next Gazette, that you wrongly accredited Mr. Paris with the origination of an idea concerning the capital gains tax for speculation.

GWEN GRAHAM REISS

Ms. Reiss ran as an independent for the Ward Three seat in the last city council election.

Equalized Chaos

ANNE CHASE

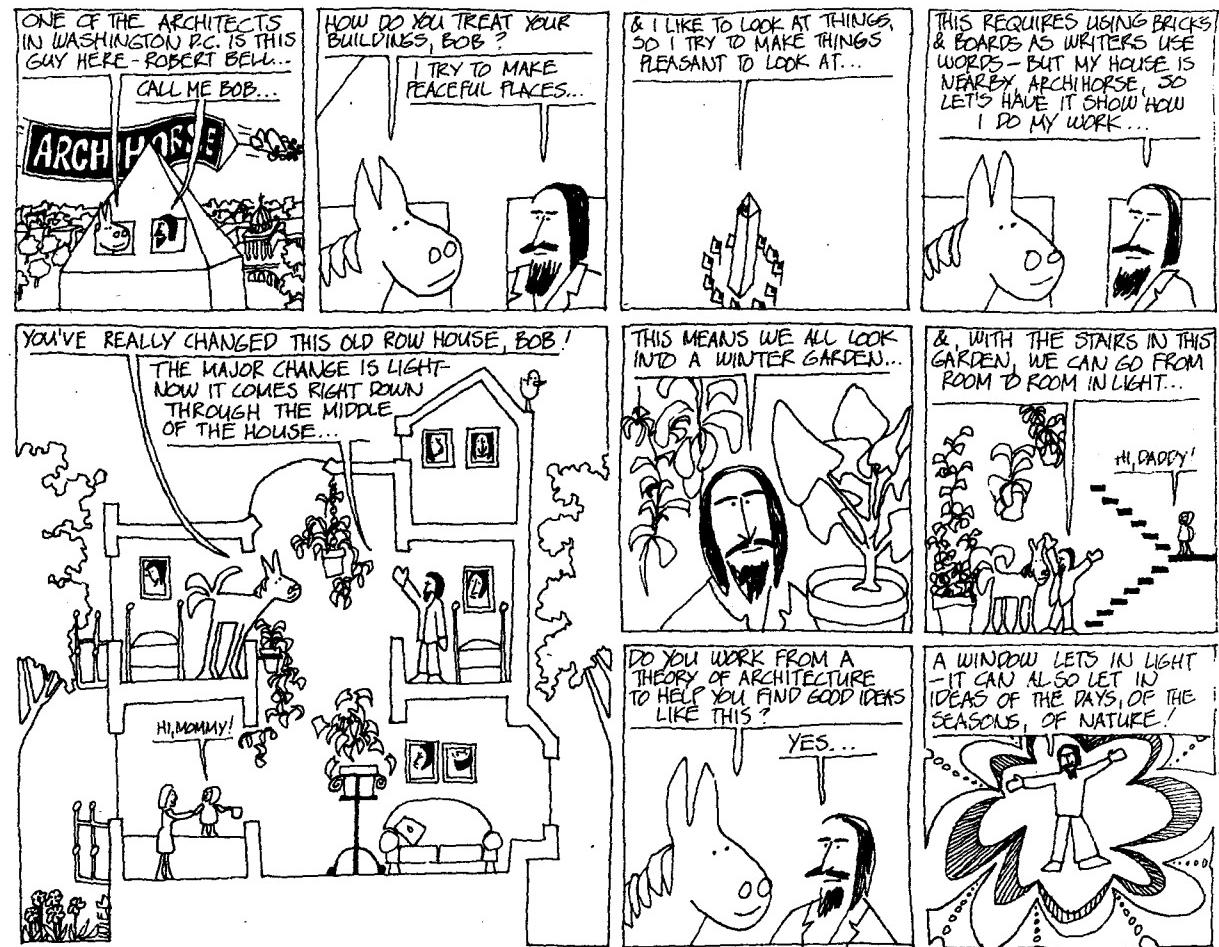
ON A THURSDAY evening last month, some 65 parents and their children met in the auditorium of Brent School to protest the transfer of their science teacher, allegedly to bring the school into compliance with the Wright decree.

The Wright decree calls for the equalization of teacher's salaries by school. But at the same time as the school system was bringing itself into compliance with that ruling, HEW began cracking down on the city for failure to follow its guidelines that require that federally-funded (so-called Title I) schools be comparable in expenditures and facilities with other schools in the system. The formula used by HEW is not the same as that for the Wright decree. For failure to meet HEW's deadlines the school system was losing over \$30,000 a day in Title I funds, for a total of \$450,000 in December, adding still more to the system's multi-million dollar deficit.

Neither the Title I office nor the Wright decree equalization office had informed Herbert Boyd, principal of Brent that his school was out of compliance. He had been informed at a meeting with school administrators in November that Brent was within 4% of the citywide norm — within the range permitted under the Wright decree. As requested, he had submitted a list of priorities to the central office, indicating which services should be cut first, if necessary.

Brent parents were heavily committed to the science program, especially after having raised \$3000 for equipment. The teacher had attended a summer session on new methods in science instruction at AU and had worked with Boyd to design an innovative program.

The general attitude at the meeting was, "How the hell could they do this to us?" Boyd virtually squeaked with frustration: "In all 29 years of my life in the school system, I have never felt anything so deeply. The parents and teachers of this school planned the science curriculum. We must not permit this teacher to get away from us. I have begged, pleaded, called every office I can think of. I've tried to get together with the principal of Congress Heights to see if we can share this teacher. Principal after principal told me no matter who they saw or what they said, it didn't make any difference. Their



teachers were transferred with no regard for the priorities they had established."

The parents voted to try to meet with school superintendent Barbara Sizemore to discuss the problem and to get figures on why Brent was out of compliance. One parent suggested holding a science class in Ms. Sizemore's office if she proved uncooperative. Others suggested taking the system to court. It was agreed to hold up on legal action until Sizemore had been consulted.

After a parent's committee met with one of Sizemore's aides, word came from Dorothy Johnson, the regional superintendent, that the transfer had been halted. Later information, however, indicated that the transfer was still up in the air. As this is written Brent's situation is still up for grabs.

Its situation, however, is not unique.

- Hearst, a small school in NW, was ordered to transfer its only first grade teacher posthaste to another NW school.

- Green School in SE, after appealing two sets of teacher transfers because the principal was not consulted, now faces losing its reading specialist. Green has one of the most successful tutoring programs in the city.

- Bryant School, which kept its classes small and reduced its special services budget to compensate, is losing a preschool aide, forcing a half-schedule for the preschool.

- Beers School lost many of its enrichment courses, while the Savoy School gained a full schedule of enrichment classes.

Reaction to the midyear transfers has varied. Schools are meeting with parent and neighborhood groups to fight them. Randle Highlands was able to persuade the school administration to honor the school's priorities and a reading teacher was saved. Randle Highlands was lucky in another regard. The principal learned of the pending transfer in November. Other principals only learned of the shifts when the teachers received letters ordering them to report to another school the following day.

The school board hopes to solve the equalization problem by changing the formula for the Wright decree so it is not based on teacher salaries alone. Budget chief Edward Winner says

that the school system has no overall position control system to assess personnel needs on a school by school basis. Individual schools hired 68 teachers more than the budget allowed because the personnel office could not monitor school needs.

While the board and administration work to straighten out the mess, teachers continue to face reassignment based on rigid allocations slowly arrived at but suddenly implemented.

Ginnie Johnson, the education specialist at Friendship House, notes: "The school board doesn't know what it has in terms of teachers so it blames the Wright decision for forcing the transfers. It is using equalization as an excuse for its own inefficiency."

TENTATIVE BUDGET SCHEDULE

Doug Moore, chairman of the budget committee, has worked out a tentative schedule for the city council's handling of the budget that should increase both council and public influence over budgetary matters. Here's what it looks like:

Thru Feb. 1: Hearings on overall budget priorities prior to mayor's submission of budget.

Feb. 10: Committee of the Whole approves budget priorities.

Feb. 18: Mayor submits his budget.

Feb. 19-March 7: Committees hold budget hearings on portion of budget in their area. Mark up bill.

March 5 & 13: Joint meetings of the budget and the finance & revenue committees.

March 10: Committees report & send final mark-ups to the budget committee.

March 24: Final mark-up and report by budget committee.

March 25: Introduction of budget act in legislative session.

April 8: Adoption of budget

April 22: Mayor reports approval or disapproval of budget actions

May 22: Final council action.

Congressional hearings begin.

June 30: Budget to Office of Management & Budget.

July 1: 1976 fiscal year begins.

WHAT'S HAPPENING

NEIGHBORS Inc., a north DC civic association, has filed a class action suit against the city on behalf of all 120,000 property owners to require the city to pay for the repair of water-lines underneath the street. The Kalorama Citizens Assn. and a number of individuals joined in the suit. Meanwhile, Mayor Washington has asked the city council for authority to have the city council pay for such repairs.

Under current interpretation of a law dating back to 1898, property owners are responsible for maintaining water pipes beyond their property line to the middle of the street. If water pipes leak or break, the property owner is notified by the city that he or she has five days to fix the pipe. If the repair is made in the street, the owner must pay for resurfacing after the leak has been corrected. Breaks have been occurring at the rate of 200 a year, but are expected to increase to 500 a year as the old galvanized iron pipes grow older and traffic increases. Bills averaging about \$1500 have been incurred and some have exceeded \$4000.

In the suburbs, the jurisdiction assumes the cost of repairs under the streets. A small increase in the water bills would cover the cost to the city.

To date, attorney Gil Hahn has won injunctions ordering the city to pay the repairs; in five cases. Judge Theodor Newman Jr. may grant similar relief to anyone who currently has a waterline break. Anyone with a break should call Neighbors at 726-3454 to arrange for a petition to Judge Newman.

Legal costs may reach \$12,000 in this case and Neighbors is seeking help in paying them. Contributions should be sent to Neighbors Inc. Water Fund, 7705 Georgia Ave NW, DC 20012. Info: 726-3454 or call Ray Hay at 755-6274 (o) or 882-2910 (h).

NEW PUBLICATIONS from the District Building: Three pamphlets comparing tax rates and tax burdens here with those in the suburbs and in other localities around the country. From the Dept. of Finance and Revenue.

"ATTICA:" The award-winning film by Cinda Firestone, will be shown Feb. 13-16 at 8 pm at All Soul's Church, 16th & Harvard NW. Two dollar donation. Proceeds to the Washington Area Attica Brothers Legal Defense.

LOW INCOME RATES

If you earn less than \$7500 a year you may subscribe or renew to the Gazette for only \$2.50 a year. Use the form below:

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109 8th St. NE
DC 20002

Please [] start [] renew my subscription to the DC Gazette for one year. I enclose \$2.50. I earn less than \$7500 a year.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ ZIP _____

THE WASHINGTON EAR, a closed circuit radio service for the blind and physically handicapped, is holding an open house on Sunday, Feb. 2 from one to four at the Woodmore Shopping Center, Four Corners, Silver Spring. The Washington Ear provides readings of the daily papers, magazines, books, ads and other printed material over a special frequency that can be received by pre-tuned radio sets obtainable from the Ear. Info: 681-6636.

THE AMERICAN Society of Theatre Arts, 612 12th NW, DC 20005) is putting out a new publication called the Theatre Paper. The latest issue had articles on the American Freedom Train, the Ali fight and oral poetry theatre.

ACCOUNTANTS for the Public Interest is a non-profit group that provides investigative, non-advocative accounting counsel to other non-profit groups that cannot afford to pay. API cites as examples of the sort of area in which it can be helpful these attacks on redlining, public financial policy and utility rate increases. API is looking for qualified people to help it in its work. Contact the group at 1714 Mass. Ave. NW 20036 or call 872-0318.

THE HARBOR AND BOATING safety regulations of the city have been published in the DC Register for Jan. 3.

FROM NEIGHBOR'S INC. comes word of these activities in North DC: Coolidge High PTA meets Feb. 4, Paul Jr. High on Feb. 11, and Brightwood School on Feb. 24. All at 730 pm. . . Ward Four Democrats meet at People's Congregational Church, 4704 13th NW, on Feb. 12 at 730 pm. Info: 726-8665. . . Neighbor's Inc. board meeting at the 4th District HQ on Feb. 12 at 8 pm.

THE DC BICENTENNIAL ASSEMBLY meets on March 8 at the King Library beginning at 930 am. Info: 629-4114.

THERE WILL BE A RECEPTION at the Museum of African Art on Thursday, Feb. 27 from six to eight pm to kick off a recruitment campaign for black adoptive homes. Councilwoman Willie Hardy is chairing the campaign. There will be music by Zapata and the tab is \$5 a head or \$8 a couple. Info: 722-0828 after 6.

THE ADAMS-MORGAN WOMEN'S Employment Center, providing free job counselling to women, has opened offices at 2452 18th NW. Info: 797-1418.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY Health Fair to be held Feb. 5-6 from 10 am to 8 pm will provide more than a dozen information booths plus free health testing. Tests include blood pressure, anemia, cholesterol and blood sugar, TB, dental, vision, hearing, and instruction in breast examination. Info: Barbara Jones or Mary Walsh at the School of Nursing, 635-5400.

THE DC COALITION of Labor Union Women will sponsor a flea market/fiesta to benefit the United Farm Workers on Saturday, Feb. 1, from 10 am to 7 pm at All Soul's Church, 16th & Harvard NW.

THE FIRST IN A SERIES of publications called "GW Washington Studies" has come out of the George Washington

KEY VOTES

Although the new city council has only cast a few votes, we are beginning with this issue to run a regular rating of council members based on key votes. Key votes are those over which there was controversy or should have been and was not. We will exclude apple pie legislation etc. so the overall rating is limited to matters of controversy. The Gazette's position on each bill is indicated in parenthesis. A + means the council member voted the right way in our view. A - indicates a wrong vote. NV means an abstention. A means absent. If you don't agree with our opinion, just change the +'s to - and vice versa.

	1	2	3	RATING
BARRY	-	-	A	0%
CLARKE	+	-	-	33%
COATES	-	-	-	0%
DIXON	+	-	-	33%
HARDY	+	-	-	33%
HOBSON	-	-	-	0%
D.MOORE	-	-	-	0%
J.MOORE	-	-	+	33%
SHACKLETON	+	-	-	33%
SPAULDING	NV	-	-	0%
TUCKER	-	-	-	0%
WILSON	-	-	-	0%
WINTER	-	-	-	0%

1. Resolution to make the Committee on the Judiciary a standing committee (Favor)

2. Approval of Council rules.

(Oppose)

3. Motion to table council intervention in law suit on behalf of retention of a provision protecting minority party representation on the council. (Oppose)

IMPORTANT PENDING BILLS

Listed below are important pending bills upon which final action had not been taken as of our deadline. The committee to which the bill has been assigned and its introducer are indicated in parenthesis. We have also indicated our position, if any.

1. Bill to limit RLA's land holdings, prohibit from taking usable housing units and similar restrictions. (Wilson, Housing & Urban Development, Favor)

2. Bill to remove invidious discrimination in terminology used in the DC code concerning men and women. (Shackleton, Government Operations, Favor).

University's Division of Experimental Programs. It's a selected annotated bibliography of materials for the study of Washington by Perry G. Fisher, librarian of the Columbia Historical Society. It's excellent and only costs \$2.50. Available from the Division of Experimental Programs, GWU, DC 20052. It is expected that the series will appear quarterly and subjects in the hopper include a history of local street lighting, a history of the police department and an article on the first women correspondents in DC.

THE CITYWIDE HOUSING Coalition is sponsoring a campaign to inform ten-

ants of their rights concerning rent control. The campaign will run thru the middle of February. The coalition is setting up volunteer-staffed tables at shopping centers, neighborhood centers and other locations. Information is also available at local libraries. Info: Larry Weston at 737-3703 or Brenda Stokely at 629-4674.

CHOICE, the alternative childrens education organization, has published an interesting and useful manual on alternative education in the area. Info: CHOICE, c/o Sumner School, 17th & M NW, DC 20036 or call 783-6088 or 628-0075.

FIVE YEARS AGO last month, the Northern Virginia Hotline was established and since then over 161,000 calls from persons seeking help in

matters ranging from drug use to social security have been answered. There are now 175 trained listeners involved. The number is 527-4077. At a time when so many alternative organizations and services are falling by the wayside, it's good to hear that the Hotline is still going strong.

THE DC PROJECT: COMMUNITY LEGAL ASSISTANCE has a new unit designed to provide free legal assistance to people who have legal problems with a DC agency, such as the police department or rent control commission, and who cannot afford a lawyer. Info: DC Project, 624-8235.

THE FIRST ISSUE of Women's Work, published by Washington Opportunities for Women, is out and it includes job

ideas, employment trends, job hunting aids, job listings, resources and some ideas on overcoming job bias. It's edited by long-time Gazette staffer Andrea Dean and a sample copy costs \$1. Individual subscriptions are \$5 and institutional ones cost \$15. Send to Women's Work, 1913 Shepherd NW, Crestwood DC 20011.

THE CITY COUNCIL will hold hearings on food prices during the day and evening of Feb. 6. . . . Hearings on the trash fee scandal will be held on Feb. 7 at 10 am. To get on the witness list call 629-3806 or 638-2223.



DC EYE

THE BOARD OF ELECTIONS HAS done it again. Piled on top of all the unfair, overly complex and perhaps unconstitutional campaign finance and contribution laws passed in the name of reform by Congress, the board has written a set of regulations on lobbying that are so broad that almost anyone who testifies before the city council or calls up a city council member on a pay phone is required to keep financial records on the matter. It would also appear that local media will have to compute the cost involved in every editorial on local matters they air or print and report the same to the board quarterly. For details of this new idiocy get a copy of the DC Register for Jan. 14, pages 1545-47.

WE WENT down to the School Board the other day to get back minutes so we could run a key vote chart like the city council one in this issue, but found that there are no written minutes after April of last year. Also, no way of finding out who voted for or against what — since most board actions are not record votes. Is that what they mean by accountability?

CRIME INDEX offenses reported in November 1974 compared to November 1973 shows crime rising in all parts of the city with a startling 42% increase in the north central portion. A 27% rise was reported in Far NW, Foggy Bottom, the West End and downtown and a 37% increase in Far SE. There was also a 24% in Far NE and lesser increases elsewhere. Crimes against persons rose 46% in the north central area, 39% in the police district covering Capitol Hill, SW and downtown east of 14th Street, and 21% in Far NE.

THE MAYOR AND THE MEDIA ARE JUMPING ON THE FEDERAL ENCLAVE IDEA IN WHAT LOOKS LIKE AN EFFORT TO HEAD OFF THE GROWING STATEHOOD MOVEMENT. WITH A CITY COUNCIL THAT INCLUDES A NUMBER OF OPEN OR QUIET STATEHOOD SUPPORTERS, THE MAYOR AND HIS FRIENDS ARE ANXIOUS TO KILL OFF THE ENCLAVE IDEA WHICH REPRESENTS A FIRST STEP TOWARDS SEPARATING THE FEDERAL AND LOCAL INTEREST PREPARATORY TO STATEHOOD.

The Gray Panthers here have written President Ford urging that in the interests of frugality that no more than three courses be served at state functions.

WHILE THE DISTRICT BUILDING TALKS ABOUT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE CITY COUNCIL HAS APPROVED AN ALLEY CLOSING THAT WILL PERMIT THE SALE OF THE CLARIDGE HOTEL AND THE CHEZ FRANCOIS RESTAURANT. THE CLARIDGE JOINS THE ROGER SMITH HOTEL AS ANOTHER VICTIM OF THE CITY'S SHORT-SIGHTED PLANNING POLICIES, REDUCING THE SUPPLY OF MEDIUM PRICED HOTEL ROOMS HERE.

AS THIS IS WRITTEN, the Post still hadn't gotten around to printing a letter from ballistics expert William W. Harper responding to Ron Kessler's defense of the lone assassin theory in the Bobby Kennedy killing. The story published not only by the Post but by many papers subscribing to the Post news service, began:

"The nationally recognized ballistics expert whose affidavit gave rise to a theory that Robert F. Kennedy was not killed by Sirhan Bishara Sirhan has said there is no evidence to support the claim."

Harper in his letter to the Post says, "At no time did I ever directly or indirectly repudiate my findings in this case. For Kessler to say I did is preposterous. . . .

"I would like to point out, however, that my original affidavit was never represented as being completely definitive. Rather it was meant to focus attention on some of the gross irregularities in the official handling of this case, and to ask questions that obviously demanded answers. It was these unanswered questions that ultimately caused me to have grave doubts regarding the official handling of this case, questions that have still to be answered."

THE NEW RULES for the City Council have a number of serious deficiencies. Among them:

- Council members are given the right to extend and revise their remarks, thereby permitting the official transcript of the Council meetings to be both incomplete and false. This may be a violation of the sunshine law. If it isn't, it should be. Just because Congress alters its official record is no reason the council should be permitted to.

- The rules permit the Council to go into executive session for any reason it feels like on vote of two-thirds of its members. There is no time limit on the length of such sessions. This is

highly improper and violates the spirit if not the letter of the sunshine law.

- The chairman not only nominates all committee chairman but is a voting member of all standing committees. This is an extraordinary power grab by Tucker. Since each of the standing committees has three regular members, Tucker and one member can create a tie effectively blocking any committee action he doesn't like.

We said in the last issue that the members of the new council were standing up to Slick Sterling. We take it back.

THE NEW COUNCIL will meet on Tuesdays at 10 am except during August. On holidays meetings will take place the next day. On the third Tuesday the meeting will be held in the evening.

AS ONE OF HIS LAST GIFTS to the city Tom Airis installed one of those mind-jarring strobe lights at the dangerous corner of Woodley Rd and 34th NW. The strobe lights had previously been limited to downtown commercial areas. Seeing the powerful strobe pulse its red light into nearby bedrooms, we wondered how long it would remain. It only took a matter of days. It has now been replaced by an auxiliary standard traffic signal that will permit both safety and sleep.

THE MALONEY CONCRETE CO. has unveiled plans for its Dodge Center highrise blotch on the Georgetown waterfront. Looking like a Mayan temple made with oversized Leggo blocks, the building will include three floors containing around 45 shops. On the first floor it will have a European flavor, the second a Third World theme and the third floor will be 100% American.

ACCORDING TO ZODIAC NEWS SERVICE, The Capitol Police force is the nation's 25th largest — right behind San Diego, a city of 700,000. Looked at another way, DC not only has the Capitol's 1000 officer force, the Executive Protective Service and numerous other units, but a metropolitan police department of well over 4000 officers. Although about the same size as San Diego, DC has 4 times as many city police and probably ten times as many police officers all told. It's something to think about at budget time.

flotsam & jetsam

MALE liberation, which has received the imprimatur of Time Inc. (without which no movement for change can hope to survive) and which has been chosen as the topic of the year by the New York publishing houses, has one virtue immediately appealing to me. It is the first national movement that I have not been too old, too white, too well-off, too heterosexual or too male to join as a full-fledged member.

This time I hope I am not too late. It is becoming clearer by the day that my new male heroes have already been selected for me and that I am either going to have to go along with Warren Farrell or be out in the cold again.

Farrell is the author of the recently published "The Liberated Man." He told People magazine the other day that "The movement is still underground, but it is about to surface. Not only has my book come out, but there are several others which will serve the same purpose as Betty Friedan's 'The Feminine Mystique.'" I have skimmed Farrell's book, as much as I could bear, and while there is some good substance it is written in a manner reminiscent of the *mea culpa* white liberals of the sixties. Liberation should mean never having to say you're sorry.

I was struck by Farrell's somewhat immodest pre-judgement of his book's worth, not only because it seemed exaggerated but also because it smacked of traditional male arrogance which I assumed he wished to eradicate. But then he was probably given the idea by some macho editor. After all, where else but in America are revolutions begun in lockstep with publication dates?

Since we are going to have to spend a certain amount of time in the next few months answering what we think about Farrell and George Gilder, the ordained ying and yang of the male community and, far more importantly, since American men have been exorbitantly slow to take advantage of this era's lust for change and thus may end up the only still-fettered group as the post-liberation period sets in, it is worth giving the matter some thought — especially now, when thought has not been totally replaced by catechisms.

Unlike other groups that have one by one adopted Bobby Seale's dictum to "seize the time," American men have, by and large, had change forced upon them through a succession of revolts that undermined what they were raised to believe about race, patriotism, capitalism and women. Although the subspecies of male most affected varied with each revolt and although women in most cases were also affected, men of some variety were still the primary target in every instance. It was men who controlled the restaurants and the restrooms, who decided who fought where, who chose when to congregate and who were "the head" of the family.

The earlier revolts attacked particular segments of the male population. The feminist revolt raised a frightening new spectre: a total rebellion against men as a class that subsumed all earlier critiques. Racism, capitalistic exploitation, societal aggression were laid at the feet of men along with all their sexist failing.

Worst of all, there was no escape. You could duck the civil rights issue by moving, dodge the draft or drop out of the system, but only a minority of men were willing to turn their backs on women as a solution to the new crisis. The omnipresence of man-woman relations created a problem of considerable magnitude for the American male. An uppity nigger, an uppity hippie teenager, an uppity employee or soldier was one thing — but an uppity wife or lover?

Since the revolution began with women who were — or who were qualified to be but weren't — members of the white professional class and since the movement tapered off in its effect on other classes of women, it is the male counterpart of this group that has received the brunt of the attack. Whatever the national statistics, among my white male friends made on Capitol Hill in the course of decade, only a handful are still married. It's gotten down to the hard-core Catholics and even they can't be relied upon.

A major role change has already occurred in my little demographic sample of several dozen friends in their mid-thirties. Wherever the revolution is headed now, it has already marched through Capitol Hill at least once. And should it turn its head towards my present neighborhood of Cleveland Park, where greater affluence and a different life style has so far suppressed a similar explosion, I suspect it would find collaborators lurking behind every disposal.

Such personal experiences, backed by less dramatic evidence from friends elsewhere and by a load of matter in the prints and on the air, reminds one with great regularity that whatever you considered as an invariable of human existence may well be inoperative tomorrow. As men, we received a wonderful education — for everything that is except that which we would face.

For all of which we find little sympathy or concern. Our employers, organizations and male-dominated institutions incite us to the status quo while our lovers and our wives insist on change. Further, we find in many respects that we are in the midst of a revolution of declining expectations. Based on the experience of the past few years there seems little reason to presume that our lot as men will improve, either economically or socially, while that of women will almost certainly take a turn for the better.

In our doubt and confusion about the present and the future and in our inability and unwillingness to deny ourselves a decent past, we fumble for a shred of continuity on which to hang. We find ourselves in a clockwork orange: only a total rebuilding of our personalities and our values will suit the times or we shall forever bear the name oppressor. The choice is either the psychological equivalent of the lobotomy or to remain a pig.

In fact, both men and women have been culturally bound, with men in the more favored position and women in the lesser one. That women have begun to break the bindings is admirable, but in the process some have gained the arrogance of the first-changed. It is a risky pretense, because (as the past decades have shown) the avant-garde often consists of those bringing up the rear of someone else's movement. There are too many sexist black militants, racist feminists, and counterculture capitalists around to lend much support to the notion of virtue being concentrated in any one segment of our species. We are all right about some things, wrong about others and need all the help we can get in most. Being right on an issue or even about a host of them is a useful human characteristic. It is not, however, the sole test of human decency, value and qualification for respect. We should beware of ideocentrism, the idea that the idea is everything.

Unfortunately, the feminist movement, so anxious for respect, has not gone out of its way to accord it to men. On the contrary, there has been a constant outpouring of attacks on men that would be described as derogatory, demeaning, stereotypical and sexist had they been applied by men to women. Too often, men are faced with the presumption of guilt until innocence is proven.

It's a familiar American pattern. Men are in trouble because of the culture into which they were born and raised. But it is not the culture and the roles into which men have been forced, often against their wills, that is attacked but the men. Like women, men are victims of the culture and one aspect of the culture that both men and women share still is a willingness to blame the victim. Fundamentalist preachers do it to their flocks. White liberals do it to fellow whites in South Boston. President Ford does it to all of us as he blames us for inflation. Policemen do it to women in rape cases. Politicians do it to welfare mothers. We have a seemingly inexhaustible capacity to make the victim bear a personal responsibility for forces over which there is little individual control. Remember how often the Traffic Safety Council would tell us that we were responsible for auto deaths — with never a hint of contributory negligence on the part of Detroit?

A good place for men to start liberating themselves is to refuse the role of oppressor. It is essential to the healthy growth of both women and men that men not turn from machismo to obsequiousness. If men and women are going to change things for the better, they are going to do it because it is good for both of them. Despite the great need for men to help women in achieving an equitable economic and social role, it is not man's prime purpose in life to provide support to the women's movement. In fact, one of the major requirements of the times is for both men and women to get out from under what has in many ways been a sort of perverse matriarchy in which men guided their values and actions on what they believed women (beginning with their mothers and proceeding through girlfriends and wives) expected of them while women suffered under the illusion that this represented a fair shake of the dice and even power. The attack on momism of an earlier decade seems naive and simplistic today but there was something there that we have tended to forget — that men based more than a small portion of their activities upon a presumption of what women wanted and that women helped to maintain the myth. The manifestations covered the gamut from an infatuation with monetary success and power (to feed the family) to war (to protect the family) to machismo and a neurotic fear of homosexuality (to protect the myth). Unless one was fortunate enough to associate with, or come from a family of, women who were already rebelling against this absurd relationship built on mutual misunderstanding and seeking instead the sort of

feminist goals common today, there were few clues that man-woman relations were actually a charade working to neither's advantage. It seems unwise to replace one female-centered myth with another.

Men should also, I would think, avoid the assumption that the road to salvation lies through therapeutic conversion. The idea is one basic to some religions and more recently has been lifted by psychiatry for its own purposes. It's basically good old original sin come back to haunt us again. Go back and find out where, when and why you ate that damn apple. Therapy is useful if you are unable to deal with your condition. It can not, as a general rule, change the conditions with which you are trying to deal. Besides, the number of persons involved in therapy, consciousness-raising and encounter groups is so small a percentage of the general population that it serves little purpose to overblow their importance or utility. Most of us will struggle into the future basing our actions on what seems to make sense at the time.

This is to the good because, contrary to the notion in some quarters, men do not suffer from a generalized psychological defect but from the debilitating results of external forces not only in the past but in the here and now. It is these forces that need to be attacked.

The civil rights movement would have never made the progress it did if it had waited for consciousnesses to be raised. Martin Luther King, good preacher that he was, knew that the way to raise the consciousness of the management of a bus company was to take its dollars and that inward grace is most encouraged by outward and visible signs and not the other way around.

Almost every movement for change, whether political or religious, has had at its base not intellectual persuasion or moral conversion but the disruption of business as usual and the creation of crises that had to be resolved. This was true of the women's movement and would be true of a men's movement as well.

Another pitfall to avoid is the presumption that success can be gauged by the degree to which roles are interchanged. The melting pot theory. Blacks eventually discovered the limits of integration and women will also. The primary one is that it denies the possibility of non-homogeneous equality even though our culture simultaneously alleges to value diversity. Black separatism came as a tremendous shock to white America because it could not conceive of heterogeneous equality. Similarly, it is difficult for men and women to conceive of differing roles in a system other than a discriminatory one. Although almost all roles are interchangeable and a pile of them should be, in fact the women's movement has been most effective in helping those women able to move into the most appealing male roles. It has not, for example, done much about the far greater role discrimination between economic class than between sex nor about the woman forced to perform all roles in her family, nor about opening up the least appealing male roles to women. Most importantly, it tends to emphasize role exchange at the expense of attacking the oppressive nature of the roles that are exchanged. There is the danger that in the shuffle of the sexes, the need to change the nature of work itself will get lost. Interchanging roles is important, to be sure, but it leaves much to be done.

One other less than benign offspring of the women's movement is the concept that sexuality is sexist. American men, having been permitted to enjoy a higher level of open sexuality than women, find at least some feminists demanding not more sexuality for themselves but less for men. The strong Puritan streak in the women's movement (and not unique to it - most movements are plagued with some form of puritanism) has resulted in some women, tired of being treated primarily as sex objects, redesigning sex into something as sanitized and moralistic as the best of the Victorians would have had it. Another group, which does not seem to have the prestige but probably has more clout, has adopted the attitude that the solution lies in treating men more physically. The latter group should be encouraged since it is seeking an equality of happiness rather than one of mutual repression and responsibility - things that don't mix well with sex. Further, it is doing the movement a favor by not adding sex to the list of items to be deprived men as the price of their failings. Such an attitude offers the possibility that both sexes will be able to enjoy each other as minds and bodies, which is what we are, after all. Beside, politics should stop at the waterbed's edge.

The preceding caveats are not intended as a sideways attack on the women's movement, but only to suggest that men should not judge the length of their own liberation standing in the shadow of women's. Women are doing a good enough job of their own throwing out the debris that necessarily accompanies progress without any gratuitous help from men. Every movement for change includes forays into the extreme, the cul de sac, the absurd and the impossible. We have to define the outer limits of where we can go

before we can freely determine where we want to go. The danger here is not so much to women, who will figure it all out soon enough, but to men who, having been raised under one myth about "what she wants" may be frightened from change by another hipper but just as illusory one.

Men can help themselves, and women in the process, by concentrating on what they want. Do they really want a work ethic that incapacitates or kills them prematurely? Do they really consider power, money, booze and drugs adequate alternatives to the pursuit of non-induced happiness, natural highs, leisure and variety? Do they get the satisfaction they have been told they do out of a sexual system that is as success and power oriented as their jobs? Do they really wish to accept a work system that enforces for many frequent absences from friends and family as they ride their sub-orbital space shuttles endlessly from one Holiday Inn to the next? Do they really want to be judged primarily by their productive capacity on the job to the near total excision of their sensual, intellectual and imaginative capacities and their ability to give and receive pleasure?

Most men, once having reached the point of being able to live beyond issues of physical and economic survival alone, would probably say no, given enough time and thought. But how to change?

Men could first attack their working conditions. Not just farm hands, day laborers and factory workers, but the executives, political officials, managers and lawyers who have so much to say about how and when the mass of men and women work. It is the work ethic of the top of the economic pile that causes no small part of the work misery of the rest of society, not to mention of themselves. Until we all become more willing to go on strike against unessential production, so wasteful of human and natural resources, we will have little chance of liberating any of us, male or female.

Secondly, men could build alternative values and institutions that free them not only from machismo posturing but from a sense of false responsibility that primarily serves the interest of a decaying political and economic system. Men could become more disloyal to the state and the economic structure and more loyal to the needs of humans, including themselves and others.

Thirdly, men as the still predominant planners of our communities, could now - even before women gain their rightful position in such matters - turn the physical social structure of our cities and towns into shapes friendly to male and female liberation. Architecture is one case in point. Our official architecture burdens us with reminders of anachronistic values, suggesting not cities where people share and cooperate but from which power is dispensed autocratically and rights are only grudgingly distributed. Similarly, the architecture of the American home is based on presumptions of relationships that are no longer valid, especially the view of woman as obsessive homemaker. We need an architecture that will help men and women work out their new relationships and not impede them. And we need changes in zoning laws that put obstacles in the path of changing roles. For example, if a group of couples living on a block wished to build a common dining facility to share the work involved in food preparation, would the city permit it? The Board of Zoning Adjustment would probably be shocked.

Fourthly, men on the whole seem unwilling to question the traditional view of the good sex life. If it is true that impotence is increasing among men, only part of the problem can be attributed to the women's movement. It is men's own rigid view of sexuality that has contributed mightily to the inability to enjoy relations of a new variety. As a class, I suspect we need to relax and enjoy our vulnerability more - not only in the bedroom but in all our relationships.

Fifthly, men could support the women's movement either by working more with organizations that will accept them without denigration or by the silent revolution of personal change. Our goals are mutually inclusive and even if some women don't see them as so, we should not turn our backs. It is unwise to drown oneself in another's cause but it is just as wrong to ignore the connection between another's cause with yours.

Sixthly, men, in a time when more and more women are out of their justifiable frustration rejecting much of the value of the family as well as its fallacies and failings, could turn themselves towards the young and help reform the family. Not merely out of duty to their wives, many of whom are not at this point able to view the family in terms other than those of oppression, but out of regard for the forgotten bystanders in this confrontation between adult male and adult female: the children. An adult society that liberates itself at the expense of its offspring has put chains on the future.

Finally, men could do these things and much more because it comes out of their realization of how our culture has failed men as well as women, rather than out of a sense of guilt and obligation. We too have been cheated.

- SAM SMITH



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